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THE ORIGIN OF THE IROQUOIS AS SUGGESTED BY THEIR ARCHEOLOGY

By ARTHUR C. PARKER

THE origin of Iroquoian material culture is a subject of pertinent interest to every student of American aboriginal culture history. No comparative study has yet been attempted, and no one has been bold enough to gather all the facts and advance a working hypothesis.

The origin of the Iroquois was a mystery to Dr. David Boyle, even though he lived in one Iroquoian cultural center. Most writers have remarked that there are few places where Iroquoian artifacts are found unmixed with evidences of contact with the European. The few early sites, of pre-colonial occupation, therefore, ought to be most instructive to the investigator, but, as a matter of fact, the purely aboriginal material found in such sites differs but slightly from those of later date, except those of a very recent period. The archeology of the Ouendat or Huron, is apparently quite similar to that of the confederate Iroquois.

In pursuing our inquiry it is soon discovered that there are definite centers in which material known to be, or termed Iroquoian, may be found. In scattered spots bordering on these centers are isolated Iroquoian specimens, as on Manhattan Island, but the fact still remains that Iroquoian artifacts are only found in numbers within certain definite centralized localities, and that these objects are not seemingly more than five or six hundred years old. Many sites show an age of less than one hundred and fifty years. At most, let us say tentatively, that within the well-recognized areas, objects recognized as Iroquoian seem only to indicate a period of cultural fixedness of less than six hundred years.

The centers of prehistoric Iroquoian occupations, recognized as such by the objects known to archeologists as Iroquoian, are: (1) the St. Lawrence basin with Montreal as a center; (2) the

region between Georgian bay and Ontario with Lake Simcoe as a center; (3) the Niagara peninsula in Ontario following the Grand river; (4) the Genesee river—Finger lake region; (5) Chautauqua county, stretching across the Pennsylvania neck into Ohio; (6) the highlands east of Lake Ontario in Jefferson county; (7) Oneida, Madison, and Onondaga counties; and (8) the Susquehanna about Elmira. Circles of various circumferences may be drawn from these centers intercepting smaller centers. This plan of approximating areas is only a scheme to fix the localities in our minds, and no attempt is made to make them independent localities with definite boundaries. The contour of the land, streams, lakes, lines of travel, and danger from enemies largely determined the early limitations of occupied territory.

With these data in mind, we wish now to inquire which of these centers are the oldest and if there is any possible means of determining the causes that made Iroquoian material culture differ from the surrounding Algonkian. We wish to inquire, as others have before us, whence the Iroquois stock came into these centers and what clue may be found showing a migration from earlier centers. We wish to inquire just how definitely valuable are Iroquoian objects, as they are now recognized, in determining a migration from other regions.

Perhaps first, then, we ought to inquire just how permanent any form of material culture is and whether there have been any revolutions not to say modifications in the material culture of a stock. We ought to consider that there are Algonkian tribes, for example, that are Siouan in culture and Siouan tribes that are Algonkian as the Blackfeet and Winnebago respectively. The writer at one time showed some of the Lafitau drawings of Iroquoian villages to a Seneca Indian, who was a tribal authority on the modern religious ceremonies of his tribe. "Our people never lived that way," he said. In this it is seen that the Iroquois of today have totally forgotten their early fortifications and architecture, though Cusick in 1825 wrote of "forts." Of another native authority the writer asked the date when the Iroquois confederacy originated. "With the teachings of our great ancestor, Hand-

some Lake, I think," he replied. Then he added after hesitation, "No, it was before that, I remember now it was in the time of Dekanawideh."

In these answers, incorrect or uncertain as they are, may be found material for serious consideration. They point out two men with whose names are linked two distinct periods of cultural revolution. Each blotted out the memory of a former period. The people of each period systematically forgot the history of the preceding periods. Today the Iroquois of New York base nearly all their tribal ceremonies on the doctrines of Handsome Lake, who flourished between 1800 and 1815. So great was the influence of his teaching that he practically created and crystallized a new system of tribal thought and a new plan of action. His earlier predecessor was Dekanawideh to whom, with the aid of Hiawatha, is ascribed the origin of the Iroquois confederacy. Dekanawideh so crystallized the things of the older period with his own devices, teachings, and admonitions that the methods, beliefs, and thought-ways of the preceding period lost their identity in the minds of the Iroquois people. All civic and much of the religious thought centered in Dekanawideh. That which preceded was either blotted out or swallowed up. The Iroquois took on a new mantle. Now it does not seem impossible that before the time of Dekanawideh and Hiawatha, other seers had arisen to change or revolutionize the thought-ways of this stock.

The inquiry comes quite naturally, therefore, as to whether a like revolution could not occur in the material culture of a people. Might not the older systems of decorative art have been gradually abandoned and new ones taken on? Preceding the period beginning about 600 or 650 years ago, might not Iroquois art and artifacts have been different? Or, if there were no Iroquois in this region then, might not they have had differently decorated pottery, for example, when they came than that which later developed and is now known as Iroquoian? These are questions archeology may some day answer. Our present knowledge gives us only the Iroquois potsherd and does not tell us why it is as it is.

There are certain Iroquoian traditions that seem to have good

foundation, relating that at a certain period all the Iroquois were one people, living together and speaking the same tongue. Indeed so positive were the Iroquois of this that they could point out a certain woman and say that she represented the lineal descendant of the first Iroquoian family. Yet the confederate Iroquois knew that she did not belong in the five tribes. She was a Neuter woman. "When the bands divided," the traditions run, "it was found that the family of Djigo^a'sāsč, Fat Face or Wild Cat, fell to the Neutral Nation." She was called Yē-gowā'ně, The Great Woman, and she was "the mother of the nations." In the Dekanawideh-Hiawatha tradition, a woman with this title is represented as being constantly consulted by both Hiawatha and Dekanawideh. The latter was a Wyandot (Owendat) from the bay of Quinte, at the foot of Lake Ontario. This points to an early recognition of blood relationship and a recollection of the time when the Erie, Neuter, Huron, Seneca, and Mohawk-Onondaga were of one common tribe, a fact that archeology and philology, of course, definitely prove.

In this original tribe any culture revolution would definitely influence the various subdivisions and be carried by each as it separated eventually from the parent body. Constant intercourse would serve to preserve the culture until it became fixed. Now, assuming, for the sake of argument, that there was an "original tribe" and that a revolution did take place in the decorative art of the Huron-Iroquois, whence did that tribe come and when did its arts change? Traditions again point to a migration from the southwest. Ethnologists are familiar with the Delaware Walum Olum, but few are familiar with Iroquois migration myths, for the reason that they are few, and those brief and difficult to recognize as such.¹ However, so many of the Iroquois (confederated) myths point to the southwest country that we must pause to consider just why they have been handed down. We must ask why the "tree of the long sword-like leaves," is mentioned so often in the Dekanawideh epic, and why so learned an Iroquois as Dr. Peter Wilson

¹ We place no credence in the Cusick account as embraced in his *Sketches of the Ancient History of the Six Nations*.

called it a "palm tree." We must consider why so many Iroquois expeditions were directed against enemies down the Ohio and on the Mississippi. We must consider, too, a certain alleged grammatical resemblance between the Caddoan languages and the Iroquoian. Perhaps all these considerations will be termed fanciful and lacking in serious value, but even if this is admitted they do have the certain virtue of stimulating inquiry.

The older theory that all the Iroquois originated or had their early home along the St. Lawrence about Montreal is not entirely without serious flaws. I believe from archeological evidence that certain Iroquoian tribes never came from the St. Lawrence region, for example the Seneca. The Seneca and Erie divisions seem to have been as closely allied in western New York as the Onondaga and Mohawk were in northern and eastern New York. The Mohawk (or Laurentian Iroquois) never agreed with the Senecan division and there indeed seems to have been a long period of separation which made these two dialects more unlike than all the others of the five. It would seem that the early band of Iroquois had divided at the Detroit or the Niagara river, one passing over and coursing the northern shores and the other continuing on the southern shores of Erie and Ontario. It would seem that the northern branch became the Huron and Mohawk-Onondaga; that those who coursed south of these lakes became the Seneca-Erie, the Conestoga (Andaste) and the Susquehannock. It also appears that the Cherokee and Tuscarora separated earlier than the Senecan and Huron-Mohawk divisions.

In the analysis that follows we shall briefly consider the material culture of the Iroquois. In the topical discussion we have repeated certain facts under one topic mentioned in another, not for the sake of emphasis only but to obtain another view of the same facts when differently correlated.

AN OUTLINE OF IROQUOIAN MATERIAL CULTURE BASED ON ARCHEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

In considering the origin of the Iroquois, their migration, and their connection with and similarity to other tribes or stocks, it is

of importance to know just what is typically Iroquoian; that is to say, what implements or ornaments may be regarded as distinctive.

Arrowheads.—The first object which a field investigator learns to recognize, as the sign of Iroquoian occupation, is the thin triangular arrowhead of chert. Nearly all Iroquois arrowpoints seem to have been of this type. On village, on campsite, or in graves the delicately chipped triangle is found almost to the exclusion of all other forms. It may not be regarded, therefore, as only a "war point" but also as a hunting point. Plenty of knives are found on Iroquoian village sites, but only a few chipped implements that may be regarded as spear heads. Very few flint drills are found in comparison with objects associated with other occupations. The same remark is also true of scrapers, although scrapers are found occasionally. The Iroquois were not flint workers as were their predecessors in this region and they used other material in place of flint wherever possible.

Polished Stone Implements.—The celt, better termed the ungrooved axe, and the flat-bellied adze were used by the Iroquois who seem never to have used the grooved axe. Their ungrooved axes, however, are well made and both types are, in many instances, carefully polished. The Iroquoian adze on the top or back is either beveled in flat planes or rounded. The small celts and adzes are common and seem to have been used as chisels and scrapers rather than as axes. In many instances these are simply water-washed stones, suitably shaped by nature, and rubbed to a cutting edge. The Iroquois seem never or rarely to have used gouges. They had perforated polished stone beads in abundance, but never seem to have used gorgets, stone tubes, birdstones, or banner stones. This is so common an observation on the part of the archeologist that it may be safely said that no polished stone implement with a hole drilled straight through it is Iroquoian. There were, indeed, polished stone pipes but no straight pipes. We except also stone beads and occasional small stone faces.

Stone Tools.—The Iroquois along the Susquehanna may have used stone hoes but the various overlapping occupations render this doubtful. It is certain, however, that the Iroquois did not

generally use the long cylindrical roller pestle, but some have been found on early sites. They did use a flattened muller and a shallow flattened mortar or meal-stone, and these are common on nearly all Iroquoian sites.

Notched sinkers are very common and generally were made of a flattened water-washed stone, about the size and shape of the palm of the hand, though various sizes larger or smaller are found.

Pitted stones are abundant. Some appear to have been hammers, judging from the battered edges, but others are pitted on either side and show no battering on the edges. Some of the pits are neatly and symmetrically drilled, others roughly picked in as if a flint had been pounded against the stone. This is especially noticeable in the softer stones. Other hammers are of diabase, granite, or other hard rock and have no pits. Their battered sides, some with flattened planes or faces, others rounded, give evidence of hard and prolonged use.

Anvils, that is flat stones upon which stone was hammered, are fairly common. Now and then an arrow shaft rubber is found and plenty of scratched stones, or "awl sharpeners" are in evidence and occasionally a "sinew stone" comes to light.

Shell Ornaments.—The later Iroquois loved shell ornaments such as beads, perforated shells, runtees and disks, masketts, and variously formed effigies, but they did not have them in any abundance until the coming of the white man. Shell beads of spherical shape, cylindrical, or even discoidal appear on early sites, most of them from the columella of the conch. Perforated periwinkles also were used but only a few beads small enough to be similar to the wampum of the colonial period have been found, compared with the abundance that later appeared. Large conch shells have been found on certain Neuter sites, especially in Erie and Genesee counties. Now and then a clam shell is found, used possibly as a potter's tool. The fresh water univalve was frequently employed for this purpose and they are sometimes found in pits filled with clay.

Pottery.—The most strikingly characteristic product of Iroquoian manufacture is pottery. Both in form and decoration, generally speaking, Huron-Iroquois pottery differs from that found in other

regions. At the same time we must qualify a statement of an absolute difference from all others, for on certain sites pottery is found that resembles, in many respects, the pottery of the Ohio village sites, as of Baum and Gartner, and even certain pottery of Tennessee but this is the exception and not the rule.

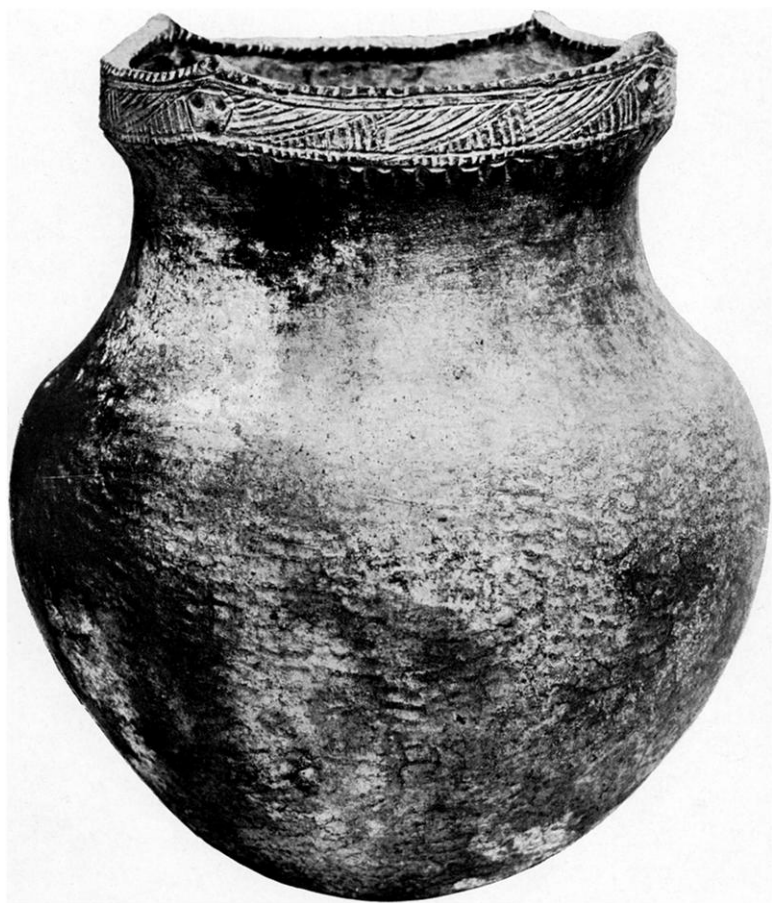
Typical Iroquoian pottery is known both by its shape and by its decoration. The typical pot (pl. xvii) has a globular body that as it turns inward toward the top, turns upward and outward into a constricted neck, and a flaring or overhanging collar respectively. The width of the neck at its base is about one sixth of the circumference of the body and it rises as if from the top of an imaginary hexagon drawn inside the globe. From the top of the neck, which turns outward like the bell of a trumpet, rises a collar, sometimes round but as often four-sided and having an upward turn at each corner. This collar is frequently decorated by a series of triangles within which have been drawn lines close together and parallel with one side of the triangle (pl. xviii). These triangles contrast with one another as the parallel lines slant obliquely, either right or left, in the adjacent space. At the corners figures are often drawn having three round dots punched in to make a conventional human face (eyes and mouth.) In a few instances the face stands out in effigy, or an entire human figure more or less conventionalized is drawn.

There are instances where these triangular parallel lines are absent and where the overhanging collar is rare. Certain of the earlier forms of Iroquois pottery have very little of this lined decoration as in the case of that of the Ripley site. In other cases as at Burning Springs,¹ the Gerry village,² and at the Reed fort³ the incised lines appear, but they run in wider patterns and far down the wide neck, which is not so constricted as in the Mohawk valley forms. Another variation is that of a globular squatty bowl with a short neck which turns outward in a rim that is notched, indented, knobbed, or scalloped. This type is found on the Silverheels

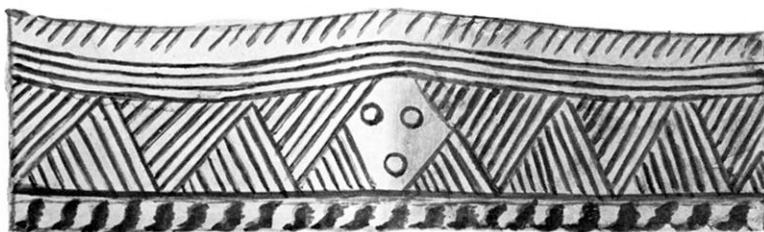
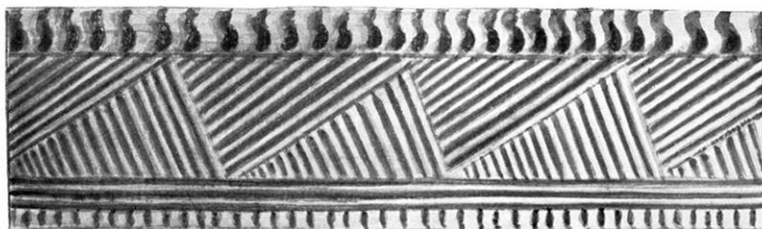
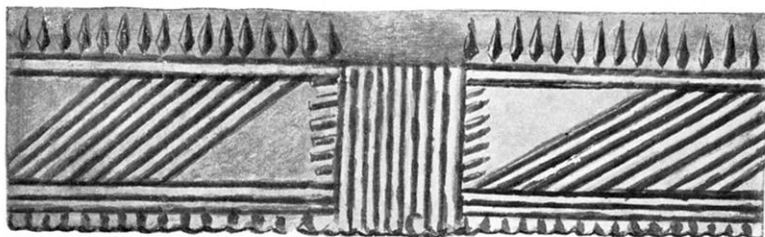
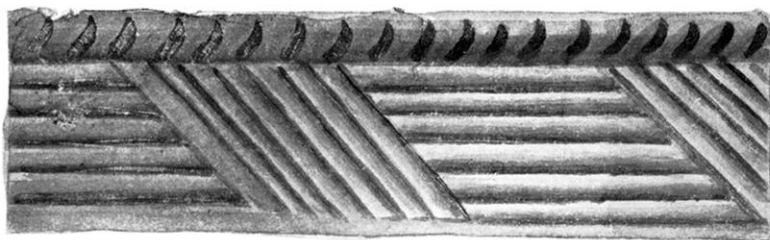
¹ At the mouth of Big Indian creek, Cattaraugus county.

² Chautauqua county, see *Report State Museum*, 1907, Albany, N. Y.

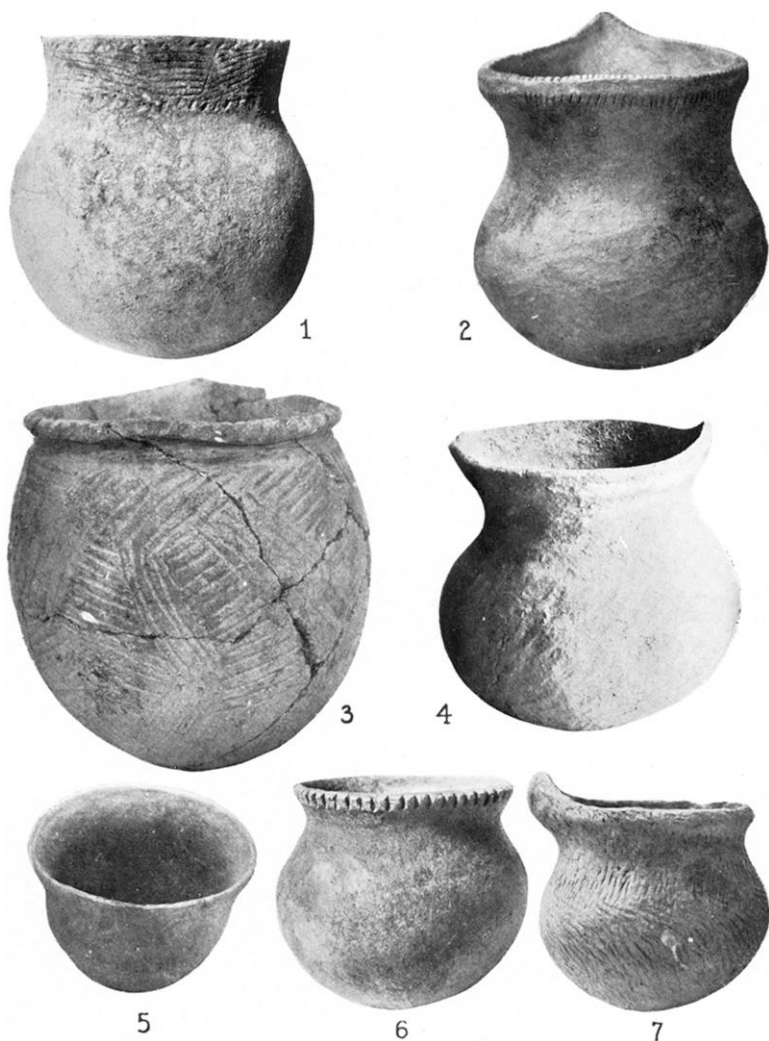
³ Near Richmond Mills, Ontario county.



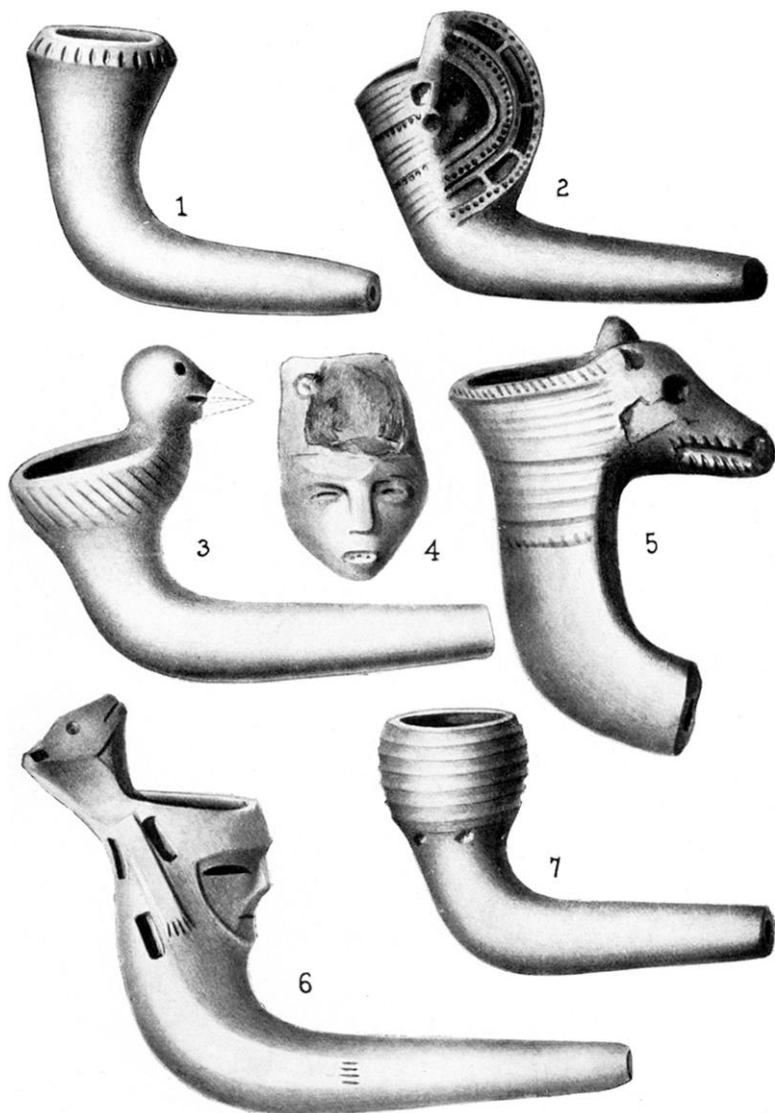
TYPICAL IROQUOIS VESSEL FOUND IN A ROCK SHELTER ON THE INDIAN RIVER, JEFFERSON COUNTY. THE HEIGHT IS $14\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES



POTTERY DESIGNS TYPICAL OF THE ONONDAGA, MOHAWK AND ONEIDA. THESE ARE THE DECORATIONS ON OVERHANGING COLLARS



IROQUOIS POTTERY VESSELS. COMMON BUT NOT USUALLY RECOGNIZED AS IROQUOIAN.
1. SENECA VESSEL WITH WIDE COLLAR WHICH DOES NOT OVERHANG. 2. ERIE POT WITH
PITCHER NOSE. 3. SENECA POT DECORATED OVER ENTIRE OUTER SURFACE. 4. ERIE
POT SHOWING MARKS OF SMOOTHING TOOL DRAWN FROM RIGHT TO LEFT OBLIQUELY.
5. SENECA BOWL. 6. NOTCHED RIM SENECA VESSEL. 7. ERIE BOWL SHOWING SCRATCHES
OF MODELING BRUSH



TYPICAL IROQUOIS CLAY PIPES FROM NEW YORK. 1. TRUMPET-SHAPED PIPE COMMON IN THE EARLY ONONDAGA AND ERIE SITES. 2. "MOON" PIPE FROM PREHISTORIC ONONDAGA SITE. 3. PIPE BOWL WITH BIRD HEAD EFFIGY, FROM A SENECA SITE. 4. FACE FROM AN ONEIDA PIPE. 5. EFFIGY PIPE, ANIMAL HEAD, ONTARIO COUNTY. 6. EFFIGY OF MAN'S HEAD WITH SKIN ROBE DRAWN OVER HEAD AND SHOULDERS. GENESEE VALLEY IROQUOIAN SITE. 7. TYPICAL SENECA PIPE FROM WESTERN NEW YORK

site,¹ the Gus Warren site near West Bloomfield and in Pennsylvania, as at White Haven. A few Iroquois pots had pitcher noses (pl. xix). Some of these have been found near Buffalo, at Ripley, and in Jefferson county near Watertown. The pitcher nose may or may not be a development from one of the four corners of the square-topped type. Other pots have small handles that unite the collar with the neck or body of the vessel. Such have been found on certain sites near Buffalo, at Ripley, and in Jefferson county. More have been found in the latter place than elsewhere. Now and then seemingly aberrant forms are found. At Ripley bowls were found that differed in no way from those found in the mound-builder villages of Ohio. They bear no resemblance to any known Iroquois type, but have a rather long, oval body with a wide, flaring mouth. Some were low and like a modern bowl. The surface was scratched and roughened in pseudo-fabric lines or scratched with a twig brush. Two or three peculiar bowls were found on the Dann site near Honeoye Falls, that approximate certain Missouri forms. The bowls are squat, with a wide flaring mouth. Three or four flattened handles unite the under side of the lip with the body of the vessel. The flattened handle is unique on this site, which however, yields European objects.

Pipes.—Equally, if not more striking than the pottery vessels, are the clay pipes. These are usually gracefully modeled and have stems from three to ten inches in length. The general base line of these pipes is one that follows the line formed by the forefinger and thumb, when the thumb is extended at right angles to the hand and the ball turned back. This is the lower line of the trumpet pipe, for example (pl. xx). Iroquois pipes sometimes have bowls imitating the tops of pots. In other instances the bowls imitate the bodies or heads of birds, mammals, or snakes. Many have the chevron pattern, or parallel lines, arranged in triangles about the bowl top. Some of the forms widely found throughout the Iroquoian area are; the trumpet form, the square-topped flaring bowl, the cylindrical bowl having a wide collar decorated with parallel rings, the bird body with the bowl in the bird's back, the effigy of a

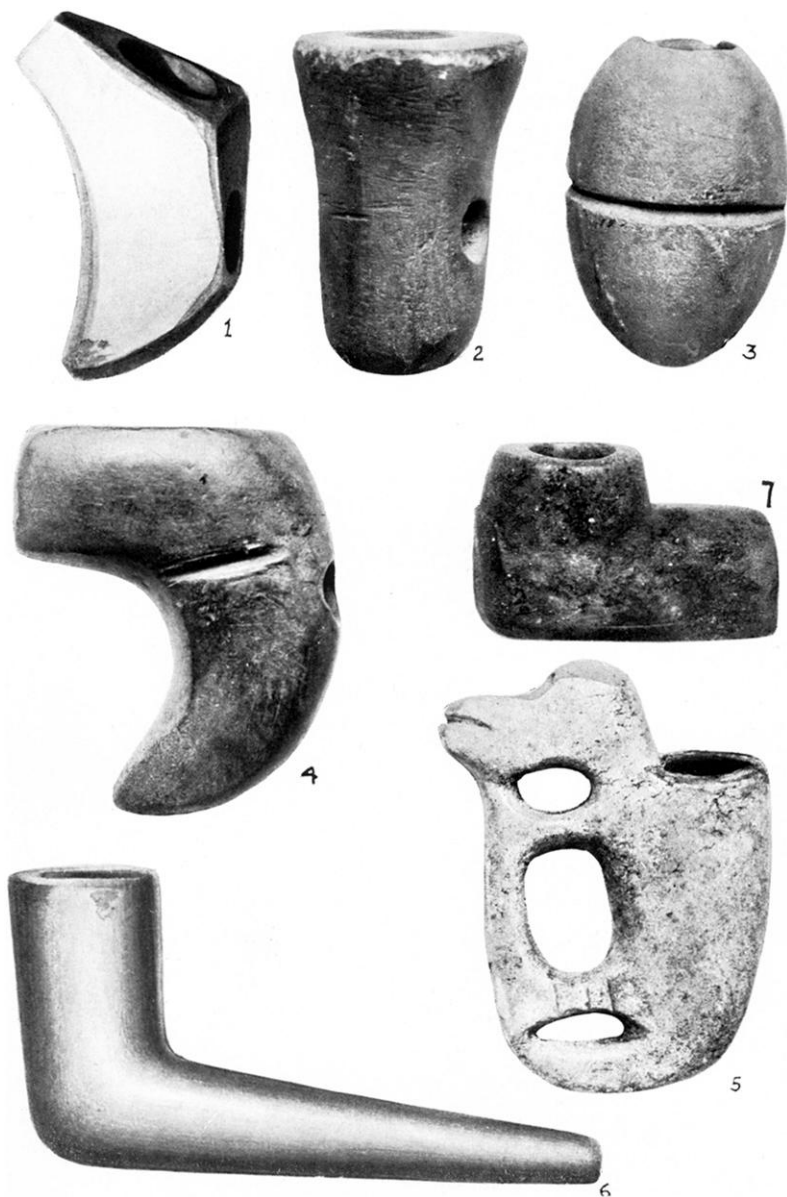
¹ On the Cattaraugus reservation, Erie Co., N. Y.

man with his hands to his mouth blowing through his lips, animal heads as of the bear, raccoon, or fox, and pipes having a human head modeled on the bowl (pl. xx).

Pipes of stone (pl. xxi) sometimes have stems carved with the bowl, but these form the minority in collections. Some resemble the outlines of simple clay pipes, others do not. Some bowls are oval, some are vase or urn-shaped. More elaborate forms resemble bird bodies, as the owl, or represent a lizard, or other creature crawling over an oval or bowl. Several observations may be made concerning Iroquois stone pipes. A negative remark is that none are tubular and none have the monitor base, common in the mound-builder region. *Iroquois stone pipes in general are so unlike their clay pipes that they bear no resemblance of having been made by the same people.* The outline, decoration, modeling, and size differ, even though found in the same grave or village site with clay pipes. Stone pipes of all the forms mentioned are found in prehistoric Iroquoian sites as well as those of the late colonial period, so that their form and use may be regarded as stable and widely known.

Bone Implements.—Among the most common bone articles are bone awls of all forms and cylindrical bone beads. The latter are usually made of hollow bird bones and many are beautifully polished. There were bone needles and shuttles. Bone phalanges cut or ground on one side or shaped as cone-pendants, are found in abundance. The canine teeth or tusks of bears and wolves perforated for suspension seem to have been favorite decorations, and the much prized elk tooth is found. Bear teeth were ground sharp for knives or scrapers, and beaver teeth were shaped for scrapers. The molars of the bear were ground down and with one root cut off, were shaped like a human foot. Perforated disks cut from the human skull were also used, but human bones outside of this were not employed.

In certain early sites, as on the Reed farm, near Richmond Mills, bone scrapers or beaming tools are found made from metapodial bones of deer or elk (pl. xxiii). These are similar in every way to those found in certain Ohio sites not Iroquoian. They are not found in later Seneca sites.



IROQUOIS STONE PIPES FROM AN ERIE SITE, BUT SIMILAR TO OTHERS FOUND THROUGH-
OUT THE IROQUOIS AREA

Bone implements are commonly found in Iroquoian village sites, especially in ash and refuse heaps or pits. The ashes seem to have acted as a special preservative.

Miscellaneous Bone Objects.—Among the more striking implements of bone are bone combs (pl. XXII), the earlier forms resembling a modern fork and having only three or four large teeth, perhaps one-sixteenth of an inch in diameter or more. The tops are usually plain, although in a few instances there is a simple perforation. As the colonial period is approached the combs become wider and have more teeth. Decoration at the top is at first simple and generally entirely lacking. With the coming of cutting implements of steel, combs take on an entirely new form, resembling in general motive a lady's back comb of modern times. These have from fifteen to twenty teeth, generally two inches long, above which rises a decorative top or handle upon which is fretted out the effigies of various birds or the human figure. Combs of this character are found in many of the sites of the middle colonial period.

Small effigies of animals were sometimes cut out of flat bone and larger effigies of the human figure were carved from heavier bone (pl. XXII). Some of these are apparently pre-colonial. The modern Seneca say that their ancestors carved small images of the human figure to represent a witch and by placing them in bags or other receptacles were able to prevent the evil influence of the witch after whom the effigies were named.

The carapace of the tortoise or box turtle is commonly found in graves and fragments are sometimes found in refuse pits. Sometimes the shell is perforated with seven or eight holes. These may have been used either as knee rattles or as hand rattles, carried in some of the ceremonies.

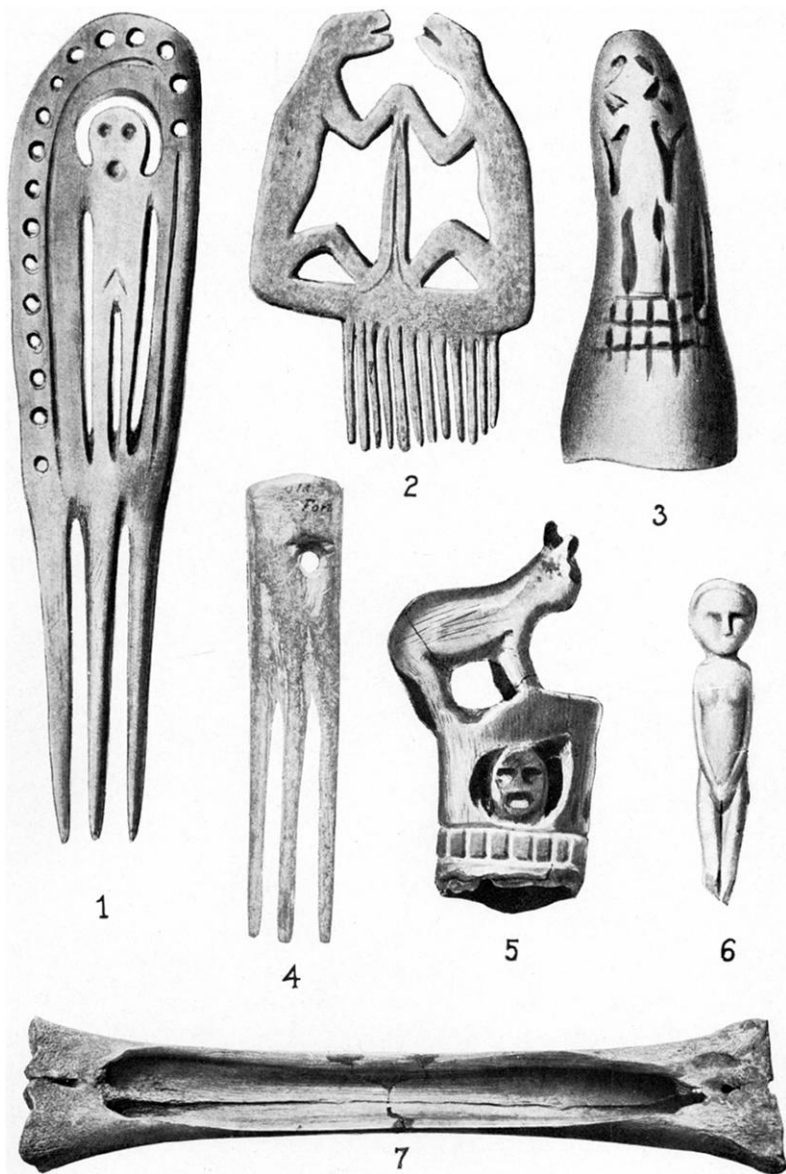
It is not uncommon to find arrowheads of both bone and antler; and it is quite likely that the Iroquois used projectile tips of this material wherever possible. It is said by the modern Seneca that some of their arrows were headed only with a sharp point formed directly on the shaft and hardened by semi-charring. Harpoons were made of bone and sometimes there are several barbs quite unlike, however, the barbs in the European spear.

Fishhooks were of the simple hook type without a barb and resemble in every way the fishhooks found in the Ohio village sites, as at Madisonville. Occasionally bone whistles are found made from the long leg-bone of some bird or of the wing-bone of a wild turkey.

Earthworks.—No adequate idea of the prehistoric Iroquois can be acquired without some description or mention of their earthworks. Scattered through the western and northern portion of the State of New York are more than one hundred earth embankments, ditches, and circular enclosures. Most of these were probably not erected in any sense as earthworks but simply as the base for a stockaded wall. Tree trunks from fifteen to twenty feet high were trimmed off and planted from six inches to a foot deep in a shallow ditch in the top of the wall and the earth was packed in about them. The tops were further secured by being tied together with bark ropes and withes. There are good historic descriptions of these palisaded enclosures. The area within them ranges from one eighth of an acre to more than seven or eight, and it is supposed that they contained fortified villages or were places of refuge from both human and animal enemies. They do not differ in any way from the stockaded enclosures of the province of Ontario, in the Huron-Iroquois area. In some instances they do not materially differ from the earth enclosures found throughout Ohio. It may be said, however, that none of them are so extensive in size as such works as Fort Ancient, nor, except in rare instances, are the embankments more than three or four feet high.

There are three general forms of the stockaded enclosure.

The first, the hilltop stronghold, was naturally fortified on all sides and had the narrow neck, which connected the out-jutting hill with the general terrace of which it formed a part, shut off with of a palisaded wall. Deep ravines on either side brought natural protection from sudden onslaught of enemies; and the places were rendered further secure by having the neck protected by a stockaded wall and perhaps an outer ditch. The ditch served two purposes. It afforded the material out of which the wall was erected, and it made it more difficult for the enemy to climb the stockade or to set



IROQUOIS BONE AND ANTLER OBJECTS. 1. EARLY IROQUOIS COMB. 2. SENECA COMB OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD. 3. ANTLER KNIFE HANDLE. 4. PREHISTORIC IROQUOIS COMB. 5. ONEIDA KNIFE HANDLE. 6. BONE DOLL OR FIGURINE. 7. BONE BEAMER MADE FROM METAPODIAL BONE OF ELK. FROM PREHISTORIC SENECA SITE

fire to its base. Typical hilltop strongholds are those at Ellington, Chautauqua county; the Reed fort near Richmond Mills, Ontario county; the fort near Portage in Wyoming county; and the pre-historic Mohawk site at Garoga.

A second form of protected enclosure is irregular in form and follows somewhat the natural line of the ground. It may or may not be upon a hilltop. Examples of this form are found on the Atwell site, near Cazenovia; the stockade near Livonia, Livingston county, known as the Tram site; and near Macomb, St. Lawrence county, on the farm of William Houghton, near Birch creek.

A third form is an enclosure more or less circular in form with a low wall and shallow outer ditch. Examples of these are such enclosures as are found at Oakfield, Genesee county;¹ at Elbridge, Onondaga county, where there is a circular enclosure covering about three acres of ground; or the circular fort on the Lawrence farm in the Clear creek valley, near Ellington.

Usually within these enclosures pits are found in which refuse had been deposited or corn stored. The soil shows more or less traces of occupation and occasionally graves are found in one portion. Beside the choice of the spot as a natural defense there were other considerations, such as proximity to good agricultural land which, for primitive people with inadequate tools, must be a light sandy loam, a plentiful supply of water, nearness to the proper kind of timber, and a location near a trail or stream navigable for canoes. It is not easy to determine, however, why some localities were chosen, for they are overlooked by hills from which the enemy could assail the fortification, or are situated in swamp lands. There were probably many considerations that attracted the Indians to these spots that have been obliterated with the destruction of the forests.

The earlier sites of this character in the Iroquois district in New York were upon the hilly lands south of the Great Lakes; and it does not appear that the Iroquois came down from their hilltop strongholds except in few remote localities until about the beginning

¹ These enclose about ten acres of land and were described by Squier, fig. 8 in his plate.

of the historic period when they began to build their towns on the lowlands, nearer the shores of lakes Erie and Ontario. This observation is especially true in western and central New York but does not fully apply to the Iroquoian area in Jefferson county. It is quite likely that the Iroquois did not drive out all their enemies or take full possession of this territory until a short period before the opening of the colonial epoch. An example of village sites or earthworks, upon or near the lake shores are those found at Ripley, Chautauqua county. Most villages, however, were from ten to twenty miles back from the shores of Erie or Ontario.

Mortuary Customs.—There seem to have been several methods of disposing of the dead. Many human remains are found buried beneath the ground indicating that the body was intact when interred. Traditions and historical evidence point out also the custom of placing the body wrapped in blankets or skins in the branches of large trees; and there are preserved in the Seneca tongue, the various terms employed to describe the details of this type of burial. Burial houses were also erected in which the bodies of the dead were placed until decay had reduced them to bones. For the disposal of these bones research shows that they were gathered up and buried in bundles in separate graves. Sometimes several skeletons are found in bundles in a single grave, with or without accompanying relics, such as pots, flints, pipes, etc.

The Iroquois, especially the Neuter nation, the Huron, and perhaps the Erie also, had ossuaries in which from ten to fifty or one hundred remains were placed. Few relics are ever found in ossuaries of the earlier period. In the individual burial, where the body was placed intact in the grave, the skeleton is almost invariably on one side with the knees drawn toward the head near which the hands rest. This position is that assumed by a sleeping person, drawn up to keep warm.

In the earlier graves there are few material objects found, but as the time ranged into the colonial period more durable relics are found, showing the gradual growth of prosperity and a greater abundance of material property. The burial objects that have survived the elements are clay pots, clay and stone pipes, flint

objects, such as knives, triangular points, celts, bone objects, shell objects, etc. These are usually found near the chest, hands, or head. Among the hundreds of Iroquois graves and skeletons found by the writer not one has been found "sitting up" and among the



FIG. 56.—Typical Iroquoian burial, showing position of pot and pipe in grave.

thousand or more burials of all cultures discovered, none were sitting up nor did the bones "crumble upon exposure to the air." The Iroquois had no definite orientation for the grave, no special side, the only general rule being the flexed position, reclining on one side (fig. 56).

The predecessors of the Iroquois had also this rule, though the makers of the stone graves in New York generally placed their dead lying straight on the back.

Miscellaneous Observations.—The Iroquois did not use vessels of steatite, but their carved wooden bowls of the longer type were fashioned like them in the sense of having handles or lugs at each end.

Iroquois textiles have never received a careful study (for they are little known), but they did weave nets, bags, belts, and even shoes. Their corn husk sandals differ a little from the sandals or moccasins found in the caves of Missouri. Small fragments of cloth and woolen bags prove that they understood weaving and basketry.

The Iroquois carved wood, and indeed the confederate Iroquois law required that the national feast bowl should represent a beaver. The idea of making receptacles resembling animals with their backs or heads hollowed out was common. Their wooden spoons had bowls shaped like clam shells and at the top of the handle was carved a bird or animal strikingly like those they modeled on pipes.

The Iroquois were an agricultural people and village dwellers. Early Iroquois villages were on hills overlooking valleys and were stockaded. The early villages had earth rings about them and sometimes an outer ditch. Upon this ring or wall of earth the palisades were erected. Later villages were in the valleys beside lakes and streams, and were not stockaded. The Iroquois towns of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were, in increasing numbers, without such walls. The Iroquois did not build mounds of the character known throughout Ohio or Wisconsin, at least at the time when they used the pottery and pipes we have described.

Iroquois houses were of bark, and there were large communal dwellings. Many of them held from five to twelve families or more. They had either a rounded or pitched roof with openings at the top, as a vent for each fire beneath. The Iroquois did not ordinarily employ the conical skin tipi.

The permanency of their village life is indicated in a measure by their vast fields of corn and other vegetables. Agriculture exercised an immense influence over their national life, and it was pursued with method and on a large scale. There are accounts of expeditions sent out to procure new seeds and vegetable foods.

The Iroquois system of consanguinity was matriarchal. There were various clans having animal symbols and names. The women nominated the civil sachems and could veto the acts of the tribal council.

Cosmogony.—The Iroquois cosmogony relates that a pregnant woman fell from the heaven world. She fell upon the back of a great turtle and gave birth to a female child. This child grew quickly to maturity and gave birth to two sons, good-minded and evil-minded, or more properly, Light one and Dark one. The Light or shiny one molded man after seeing his reflection in the water. He found his father dwelling on the top of a mountain that rose from the sea “to the east” and begged from him certain gifts tied up in bags which were given. Reaching his home land again, he opened them and found animals and birds of all kinds, trees and plants. The mother of the two boys died in giving them birth, killed by Dark one or The Warty (Flinty) one, who insisted on emerging through her armpit. The grandmother nursed the boys and bade them watch their mother’s grave. The food plants and tobacco sprang from her grave. The sun and moon in other versions were made from her face, eyes, and limbs.

Nearly all Iroquois legends relate to incidents connected with the southwest. Many expeditions relating to the country down the Ohio river are recounted. Few stories of the north are related. The north was only the land of great terrors and savage giants.

THE COMPARISON OF THE IROQUOIAN CULTURE WITH THAT OF SURROUNDING TRIBES

As has been seen in the foregoing description outlining the material culture of the Iroquois, there are certain definite things which characterize their handiwork. The Algonkian tribes to some degree, erected earthworks or stockaded enclosures but apparently of far less extent than the Iroquois. In this respect the Iroquois more closely resemble the Indian of Ohio and the southern states. With the exception of the size and height of the embankments their earthen walled enclosures do not greatly depart from certain Ohio forms. The Iroquois, however, in no sense erected mounds of the

character found in Ohio, neither does it appear that they were numerous enough to require, or to be able to erect, such extensive earthworks. A greater number of these enclosures are found in New York, west of the Finger Lake district and on the hilly regions of Chautauqua, Cattaraugus, Erie, Wyoming, Genesee, Livingston, and Ontario counties. A few are found eastward as in Jefferson county, but a great majority are in the localities we have mentioned.

The Iroquois were an agricultural people like those of the south, of Virginia and Georgia, or of the mound district in Ohio and the Ohio valley. Corn cobs and other vegetables are frequently found in ashpits and refuse heaps in Iroquois village sites, and the use of tobacco may be deduced from the prevalence of smoking pipes.

Unlike the Indians of Ohio who built the mounds and fortifications, or the southern Indians, those of Georgia and Alabama, or the Algonkian east and north of them, the Iroquois did not use implements or ornaments of copper or mica; neither did they use ornaments of polished slate such as gorgets, stone tubes, bird stones, boat stones, and banner stones. They did not use the bell pestle or cylindrical pestle, nor as a rule did they ornament their pottery with fabric marks, notwithstanding the fact that they wove fabrics similar to those the impressions of which are found on baked pottery in the Algonkian area. They did not use the grooved axe, common among all the peoples about them, nor did they have the monitor pipe commonly found in Ohio, Kentucky, the southern states, and throughout New England. Except in rare instances, they did not use flints having barbs and stemmed necks. The absence of these forms of implements is significant and is the result of something more than mere accident. The Iroquois had every opportunity of knowing of such objects and they were fully capable of making them had they so desired. It appears from these facts that the Iroquois deliberately chose not to use these things and tabooed their being employed in any way. Apparently there was a direct attempt to banish such articles beyond the pale of their culture by deliberate avoidance. On the other hand the Iroquois did use stone tomahawks or celts, and apparently mounted them in

the same manner as did the contiguous nations. They did use the ball-headed wooden war club such as is widely found throughout the continent; and their shallow mortars and mullers did not greatly differ from those used by the Algonkian.

Their dwellings were houses of bark formed much like an arbor, some with round and some with pitched roofs. Under normal conditions these houses were communal dwellings and large in size. There were no permanent dwellings circular in form; and mud huts or hogans were not used. It is quite apparent that from the earliest times they were an agricultural people, and neither archeology nor the testimony of early explorers and travelers indicates any wide difference in their village life from that of the Indians of Virginia and the Carolinas, for example. They relied very largely upon vegetables for their sustenance, and the cultivation of the ground was regulated by certain established customs. It appears that the Iroquois were far more like these Indians of the middle south in their village life than such Indians of the north as the Micmac or the Malecite.

Of great importance in the study of comparative archeology, and we believe in the study of the origin of the Iroquois, is the testimony of implements of pottery and smoking pipes. Iroquois pottery is perhaps the most durable and striking of the material found on their village sites or in their graves, and in both decoration and form is distinctive from most forms of pottery used by the Algonkian. Before discussing this subject further it may be well to state that there are two general forms of Iroquois pottery, that is to say, there are two archeological districts which yield pottery, which may be compared. The first and westernmost is the Huron-Erie area which embraces the Iroquoian sites in the Niagara peninsula, in Ontario and the adjacent land to the west of it and north of Lake Erie, including also the territory in New York along the southern border of Lake Erie to the hilly land south of it. The second area is the Mohawk-Onondaga, and takes in the region of the St. Lawrence basin, the east shore of Lake Ontario, the south shore of the Oswego river southward along the Seneca river, southward through the Susquehanna valley and eastward through the Mohawk

valley. In the first district named the outline of the pot does not show the high collar projecting as far from the neck as is common in the second district. In many cases the collar is a very narrow band and ornamented by parallel lines, simple oblique lines or none at all (pl. XVIII). In another variety the lines are formed in the chevron pattern but in larger plats. In this form the collar does not project very much from the body of the pot and the decoration is carried down well onto the neck. There are instances where the triangular patterns and short lines follow a line of oblique lines drawn around the body of the pot below the rise of the neck. Such patterns are found on the vessels from Ontario and figured by Dr. Boyle, and by myself at Ripley, Chautauqua county. In the second district the wide overhanging collar becomes almost a fixed characteristic. Here it reaches the highest form of its special development and archeologists usually describe one of these pots for their ideal Iroquoian form. The pots in the first-named district usually have the more squat body with bulging sides (pl. XIX). A careful comparison between the pottery vessels found by the writer at Ripley, N. Y., and those pictured by David Boyle as having been found by the Laidlaw brothers, in the sites along Balsam lake, Ontario, Canada, will show that while a general outline and form of body is similar to the pottery of the Mohawk-Onondaga area, there are differences enough to warrant placing each district in a class by itself.

Certain forms of Iroquoian pottery, as in western New York, do not greatly differ from those discovered in the mounds of Ohio, especially certain pottery forms described by Prof. Mills, of Ohio State University. The forms to which we refer are those having a globular body and short neck with a wide flaring mouth; the entire surface of the body being decorated with the marks of a paddle wrapped with grass stems or brushed while still plastic with the same material. Large fragments of such pottery were found by the writer in the prehistoric site at Burning Springs where it was mixed with sherds of more conventional Iroquoian types. Some of this pottery does not differ materially from certain forms of Algonkian pottery except in the matter of shape. None of the

pointed bottoms are found in the Iroquoian district in New York. Many Iroquoian vessels are small, containing not more than two quarts, while others are larger and have a capacity of several gallons. Complete vessels of the larger type are very rare but many hundreds of sherds of large vessels are found throughout Jefferson, Ontario, Erie, and Chautauqua counties.

In the study of the design found on the typically Mohawk pottery it seems apparent that the parallel lines arranged in triangles represent porcupine quill work such as is found on the rims of bark baskets. There are certain other features of Iroquoian pottery that lead one to believe that potters in making their vessels had in mind bark baskets. Neither the square topped nor round collar is dissimilar in form to the tops of the bark baskets and the dots or short oblique lines placed around the upper edge seem to imitate the binding of the wooden rim of the basket. Oftentimes dots around the center of the body, at the beginning of the neck, seem like the stitch marks seen on bark basketry. This idea was first advanced by Frank Cushing who gives a figure of an Iroquois basket which he says was copied in clay by potters. We believe that the *idea* is correct, but the Iroquois of historic times did not use bark baskets or vessels of this character. All of their baskets that we have seen have flat bottoms and in outline are more or less oval at the top.

Other pottery patterns, such as those found throughout the Seneca district and western New York, have a narrow rim, on the lower side of which is a series of notches or projecting teeth. Sometimes this rim is devoid of these projections and has oblique parallel lines drawn at intervals to the edge of the rim. This form is similar to the ordinary bark basket simply bound with an ash splint and an elm bark tape. It is of value to note for comparative purposes that the quilled or chevron pattern is far more prevalent in the Mohawk-Onondaga district than it is in western New York or in the Seneca-Erie region.

It is of great importance to note that Iroquoian pottery never has a circular or scroll-like design such as is found upon the pots of the south and of certain Ohio village sites. The absence of any

curved decorations or scroll designs is significant, and is one of the things which points to a deliberate attempt to avoid the distinctive art of certain other tribes.

All Iroquoian pottery seems to have been built by the coil process, that is to say, it was formed by coiling ropes of clay upon a base and then worked into the desired shape by continuing the coiling process. Very few pots were blackened by pitch smoke although some pipes were treated with this process.

Smoking-Pipes.—Smoking-pipes of both stone and clay are numerous in the Huron-Iroquois area. There are several general forms but all bear striking resemblance to each other. We have given some description of these in a former paragraph.

The Iroquois pipes seem much different from those found in any other archeological area, and it does not appear at first thought that they were derived from any other forms except perhaps the small tubular form with its end bent upward at an angle. There are certain features, however, found in Iroquois pipes that remind one of pipes of the contiguous tribes. It will be noted that the monitor pipe of the mound-builder region has a bowl which resembles an oval vase with a flaring rim. The bowl is set down into the platform, the whole pipe of course being monolithic. The Iroquois did not use the platform pipe, as we have previously remarked, but they did employ every form of the stone bowl used on platform pipes. The bowl, however, was built in all its lines much like the monitor type but submerged into the platform stem. The same remark applies to certain forms of effigy pipes where the bowl has an animal head projecting from it. Certain forms of Iroquois clay pipes have similar bowls but with a stem of the same material projecting from it. The Iroquois did not have anything identical with the mound types with their beautifully formed effigies of complete birds, toads, frogs and small mammals, such as are featured by Squier and Davis.

There is one important exception to this statement, and it is that relating to the cruder form of effigies found on platform stems. On early Iroquois sites effigies of this kind are found in the so-called lizard or panther pipes. The platform, however, has disappeared

and the bowl and the effigy have a different orientation. The effigy seems to have clung to a narrow strip of the platform which appears in the shape of a small stem, and the stem hole is drilled in the back of the effigy, the bowl of the pipe being drilled down through the top of the shoulders into the body of the effigy. The drilling shows in most cases a large conical or beveled hole. Other effigy forms show no traces of the platform or rod, as in the case of the lizard pipes which perch upon their own tails, but are conventionalized forms of birds, generally the owl, having the body at the shoulders drilled for a bowl and the stem hole drilled in the lower part of the back. Oftentimes in the front of the pipe a conventionalized projection is made to resemble the feet. These bear a perforation from which, no doubt, were suspended ornaments. Other forms of mound pipes used by the Iroquois without any alteration are those from the Erie region resembling animal claws and those modeled along cubical lines with a short stem base for the insertion of a reed. Iroquois and mound pipes interpreted and compared in the light of these observations show in general conception a remarkable similarity. They are more alike than are the pipes from the southern states or the Atlantic seaboard.

The stone owl pipe and the lizard pipe, which have been described best by Col. George E. Laidlaw of the Provincial Museum of Canada, are found in the early Iroquois sites in New York and undoubtedly in sites of the same period throughout the entire Iroquois area. The Province of Ontario has yielded many, numbers of them having been found in New York, still others have been found in Maryland and Virginia as well as the Carolinas. Others have been found elsewhere, but only occasionally.

These effigy pipes of the Iroquois in some ways remind one of the Cherokee pipes which have the effigy standing on the front part of the stem. In the Iroquois pipe, however, the stem has been abandoned and the effigy has either "sprung upon" or "grasped" the bowl or made it a part of itself. It is not difficult to conceive that this type might have been derived from either the Cherokee or mound pipes. A single dream of an old woman of the early tribe, widely recounted among the people as a necessary provision

demanded by the spirits, might cause a modification in any line of material culture. We have only to examine the history of the modern drum dance of the Ojibway and middle Plains tribes to discover how a dream can institute a custom that becomes widely known and followed.

Iroquois pottery pipes are among the most interesting forms of their ceramic art and some of the best modeling is found in them. They bear upon their bowls the effigies of birds and mammals, animal heads, human heads, and representation of earthen pots and other objects. They are far more complex and made with greater care than are the Algonkian pipes. Iroquois clay pipes are by far the best made by the aborigines of North America north of Mexico. There are certain features about them that give a hint of the customs and costumes of the people who made them, for example; they show that the skin robe with the animal head still upon it was worn as a blanket and head piece (pl. xx); they give an idea of facial decoration; they represent masked figures with their hands to their lips blowing, as in the false face ceremony, or they reveal their totemic animals. Some of them have numerous human faces modeled upon the stem and bowl, and both the form of the face and the concept is still carried out by some of the Iroquois today, especially the Cayuga, who carved these faces upon knarled roots as charms against witches.

The most common type of pipe among the Mohawk-Onondaga group is that having a flaring trumpet mouth. The Seneca-Erie on the other hand, including the Huron of the north, commonly used pipes having a cylindrical bowl upon which was a long collar decorated by parallel rings.

Certain forms of pipes show how widely prevalent certain concepts were among the Huron-Iroquois. Briefly these are the owl-faced pipe, the blowing pipe with the human face, the ring collar pipe, the square-topped pipe with the flaring collar, the trumpet bowled pipe, and others. It appears that Iroquois pipes are a unique part of their culture. Further description of these is given in another portion of this treatise.

AN IROQUOIS MIGRATION HYPOTHESIS

For the sake of a working hypothesis and for the benefit of future discussion, we wish to advance a theory explaining the presence of the Iroquois in their present area.

Let us suppose that the one, two, or more related tribes of early Huron-Iroquois lived in a portion of a region included within a circle having a radius of 200 miles and with its center at the mouth of the Ohio river. Here they were in contact with the Caddo, the Muskogee, the Sioux and some of the Algonkian. They were more or less agricultural and sedentary and familiar with village life. They knew how to erect stockades and build earthen walls for their enclosures.

Some movement of intruding immigrants or other influence caused them as a body to push northward up the Ohio river. Some went eastward into the Carolinas but the main body migrated in a northeasterly direction. The tribes of the Cherokee were the first to lead the way and crowded upon the mound-building Indians of Ohio, whom they fought for a long period of time. They finally overcame the Mound Builders¹ and absorbed a large number into their tribal divisions, and possessed themselves of the Mound Builders' country. Very likely they were assisted in this conquest by bands of Choctaw, Algonkian and by some of their own kinsmen.

They took upon themselves some of the characteristics of the Mound Builders, but endeavored to blot out some of their arts, to the extent of mutilating objects they regarded as symbolic of their former enemies.

Other Iroquoian tribes then pushed northward and endeavored to pass through the Cherokee-Mound Builder country. Jealousies arose and the newcomers with the Delaware began a general war against them, finally driving them southward and across the Appalachian ranges. This estranged the two branches and led to wars continuing well into the historic period.

The beauty and fertility of the country attracted settlement, but the Cherokee constantly raided their villages. Bands then

¹ We use this term only as a convenient expression to describe the Indian tribes of the region under discussion.

began to cross the Detroit river and push their way into the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario. A band now known as the Huron established themselves near and southward of Lake Simcoe. An allied tribe, the Attiwandaronk or Neuter possessed the region south and east of them, taking the Grand river country and pushing eastward across the Niagara. Still other bands pushed over the northern shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario and fought their way to the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

Powerful bands established themselves about the St. Lawrence, with the site of Montreal as a center. They were Mohawk-Onondaga, though the Onondaga soon pushed southward to the hilly region east of the foot of Lake Ontario, in the present Jefferson county.

Certain bands continued on the south shores of the lakes and pushed their way eastward. One division, the Erie, claimed nearly the entire southern shore of Lake Erie, while the Seneca, pushing eastward, laid hold of the country from the Genesee river to Canandaigua lake. The Conestoga, or Andaste, took northern Pennsylvania, especially the region embraced by the two branches of the Susquehanna, including the Chemung river and southward, perhaps as far as Harrisburg. From thence to the headwaters of the Chesapeake the Susquehannock claimed domain. Still southward, but east of the Cherokee, pushed the Tuscarora and it is possible that bands of them lived there earlier.

There was constant intercourse between the various tribes who were well aware of the seats of each other. Often the various bands were at war one with the other, and often there were loose alliances, as of the Tuscarora with the northern Iroquois. The Cherokee and Iroquois, especially the Seneca, were constantly at war. To the north the chief enemy of the Iroquois was the Adirondack tribe, which later allied itself with the Huron.

The Huron-Iroquois pushed the eastern Algonkian to a narrow strip along the coast separating them from their western kinsmen and exercising a dominant influence over their material culture and to some extent their social organization. The Delaware, who were closely associated with the Iroquois, were always more or less

friendly with them, and, indeed, in the historic period at least, acknowledged the supreme authority of the confederated Iroquois over them.

The raids of the Adirondack or Abenaki of the north, and the hostility of the southern Iroquois at length compelled the Laurentian Iroquois, the Mohawk, Onondaga, and Oneida tribes, to form a compact which later took in the Cayuga and then the Seneca.

The Onondaga, early, had pushed further south, leaving their east Ontario (Jefferson county) strongholds, and occupied the hilly country south of Onondaga lake, in the present Onondaga county. The incursions of the Abenaki made this necessary. The Mohawk soon followed, owing to disagreements with the Laurentian Huron. In their southern migration they came upon the Mohawk valley country where they established themselves; first, on the highlands north of the river, in the present Fulton and Montgomery counties; and later on the southern side of the river. The Oneida band, long a separate body, moved westward into the highlands of Madison county. Still west and on the hills near Limestone creek, were the Onondaga, and beyond them the Cayuga living along the Seneca river and southward about Cayuga lake.

Between these divisions of Iroquois, in spite of a common origin and common stock dialects, there was much jealousy and frequent feuds. In general their southern neighbors gave them too much trouble to leave much time for war between themselves. The Mohawk sent war parties north to harrass their foes, the Huron and Abenaki and even the Micmac; but in turn they were disturbed by the Conestoga or Andaste whose Chemung valley settlements made war on the Cayuga also. The Seneca and Erie tribes in the Genesee country and along Lake Erie were in constant contact and perhaps allied for defensive purposes. The westernmost Seneca settlements were especially friendly with the Erie. On both sides of the Niagara river were the villages of the Attiwandaronk, or Neutral, considered an old and parent body of all the Huron-Iroquois. Within one of their villages near the Niagara lived Ji-gon-sa-seh, "The Mother of Nations," a woman who was regarded as a lineal descendant of the "first woman of earth."

The pressure of the eastern Iroquois and the additional power their friendship would give, made the idea of a confederacy an inviting one to the Seneca and a large portion of the nation subscribed to it. The Erie were not kindly disposed toward the idea and the southern Iroquois were not at all attracted by it. The Neutral saw no need of entering the league since they made no local wars and since both their Huron and Iroquois kinsmen respected their ancient authority and the prestige given them by the "Mother of Nations." Thus, the Iroquois Confederacy or Long House came only to embrace the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. The fact that some of their kinsmen would not join the confederacy was displeasing to the Five Nations, who though dedicating their league to the establishment of peace saw grave danger in their neighbors who refused to subscribe to the articles of friendship. The new confederacy was soon beset with enemies on all sides who saw in its rising influence a general danger. But the confederacy developed certain mental qualities within its leaders who were not to be overwhelmed. They became astute statesmen as well as ferocious warriors. They learned the advantage of concerted action, of compromise among themselves, and of organizing mass onslaughts. Thus nation after nation fell before them, the Erie, the Neutral, the Huron, the Wenro, and the Conestoga. The Cherokee were too far away to be effectively reached. Although the Five Nations lost thousands of warriors, their foes lost more, and the surviving enemy were made captives, led into the Iroquois villages, and adopted. This swelled their ranks enormously and virtually united by blood mixture all the Iroquois.

Triumph did not come to them, however, until the middle of the colonial period, and with this triumph came the golden age of the Five Nations. This was from 1650 to 1755. Before the earlier date their foes had been Indians, and after that date they battled with the white man, it is true, but they lost no power. By 1755 however, the colonists had come in such numbers that the Five Nations saw the end of their ascendancy as an imperial power. They had come, they had conquered, and now they became engulfed in a complex of cultural elements of which their ancestors

never dreamed. More than five thousand Iroquois remain in New York State; more than fifteen thousand reside in the United States and in Canada, but whence they came in the dim distant past, not one remains to tell. The secret may only be solved by the student of Iroquois mythology and of archeology. Our present knowledge, as we have argued points to a southern origin, "down the Ohio."

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